1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

512 grains of sand, they wait patiently and quietly, though hungry.
461 They seek no shelter from the wind, preferring it to the myriads of insects lurking in any sheltered spot. And then, too, it is cool in the wind, terrifically hot away from it.

About midafternoon the hunters and food gatherers straggle in.
512 They bring small crocodiles and turtles, crocodile eggs, turtle eggs,
224 perhaps some honey; and the women return with full baskets con-
222 taining changuango, a wild root that they have dug up in the savanna. They, too, may bring turtle eggs. Not always, of course. The men and the women may return with empty hands and empty baskets. In any event there is no boisterous reception, but the same silence, the same quiet acceptance of the day and what it brings as they have shown at its beginning. Fires are built larger, the women roast the
512 roots, the men help with the turtles and the crocodiles. These are
● 252 placed whole on the fire until the shells are toasted and then they
515 are cracked open. Wives become busy delousing their husbands, using a carved stick to help in the search. Sometimes the lice are picked and eaten. But the bodies of the men are covered with numerous black blisters, showing that they have suffered the daily torment from the insects. The wife crushes all of these blisters with the same delousing tool.

Dinner is a gala time. Calabash dishes containing the various
512 courses are placed in the center of the ring formed by each family.
264 The food is picked up and carried to the mouth with the fingers.
262 There are crocodile eggs. These are opened and the contents are sucked up raw. The same is done with the turtle eggs. There is the course of roasted changuango, and the pieces of turtle meat. But the real delicacy is crocodile, the best meat of all. The crocodile is eaten in its entirety, except for the entrails, and when the dinner is over some of it is left by the fire, an open invitation to anyone to fill any empty portion of his stomach. The stomachs become distended as tremendous quantities of food are swallowed. This is the only real meal of the day, and the fear of a dinnerless tomorrow drives the eaters to exceptional feats of gourmandizing until their bodies can hold no more. The lean dogs fight among themselves over the refuse heaps. The vultures glide overhead or are busy at crocodile entrails.

There is no after dinner work—no kitchen or table ware to wash,
512 nothing to spoil the proper enjoyment of a full stomach. They eat
517 until they have had enough, and then they move to the east of the
776 fires to lie on the clean sands and watch the sun hide beneath the western horizon. For about half an hour they watch the ever-changing colorful western sky and when rays of light emanate from below the horizon to streak the heavens with blue and gold and white, they

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

252 Several fires were burning, and over them there were pots containing turtle eggs. Several large turtles and small crocodiles were broiling over a fire. The shells of the turtles and the hides of the crocodiles had not been removed, and for a moment we thought that they were being cooked alive, but soon discovered that they had been killed before being placed over the fire. There was little else to be seen. It was easy to understand the reaction of the casual traveler who, upon coming in contact with a primitive group, stops, looks, and goes away quickly with the impression that there is nothing there more than the glance takes in.

123 609 On approaching the camp, Pedro, the guide, shouted words of greeting in Yaruro, "keramai" (brother-in-law). He patted some of them on the back, asked after their health in Spanish, called everyone brother or sister-in-law, and tried to make himself generally agreeable. Maria busied herself with the women. The Yaruros' only response to their demonstrations of friendship was to extend their arms half-heartedly, in a llanero gesture of greeting, and to answer their questions monosyllabically.

In spite of our friendly overtures they would not accept me as friend or guest. They remained reserved and aloof. The young man pointed out as the headman resisted my attempt to draw him into conversation. The Yaruros watched us closely, taking in our least movement, and only averted their gazes when we looked directly at them. If one has never come in contact with South American primitives before, such a reception is decidedly disheartening.

123 522 An accident relieved some of the tension. I picked up a bow. Choosing the remnants of an old basket about 50 feet away for a target, I took careful aim and shot the arrow. I missed by more than 10 feet. The eyes watching me lighted with amusement and contempt, for it was inconceivable to them that anyone could exist in this world without knowing how to shoot a bow better than that. I shot again and this time I came within 6 inches of hitting my mark, a feat which aroused some interest. I placed another arrow on the bow, raised it, pulled back the string, as far back as my ear, and then, with a loud snap, the bow broke. Laughter greeted this exploit, not so much directed at me as at the owner of the bow who had spent several days fashioning it. He was adequately compensated but that did not remove his feeling of resentment.

123 That evening we again visited the camp. The camp fires were low, so we were scarcely able to see our way about. Pedro and Maria sang out cheery greetings, while we picked our way between scarcely distinguishable groups of humanity and piles of debris. A few grunts and a few indifferent gestures of greeting were the only acknowledgments of our presence. Even the distribution of several yards of tobacco failed to melt their reserve. They did, however, put up a

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

iron hoe, which is also made by the Yaruro out of any heavy scrap of iron that they may gather. Sometimes they will work for the ranchers and with their earnings purchase this type of hoe from a trader. However, such a digging tool is quite a luxury and sharpened sticks are more common.

MORTARS AND PESTLES.—During the rainy season, the Yaruros gather chigua, a seed, which they dry and pound into flour. Mortars of wood shaped as shown in figure 20, *a*, *b*, are used and the pestle is any ordinary hard stick.

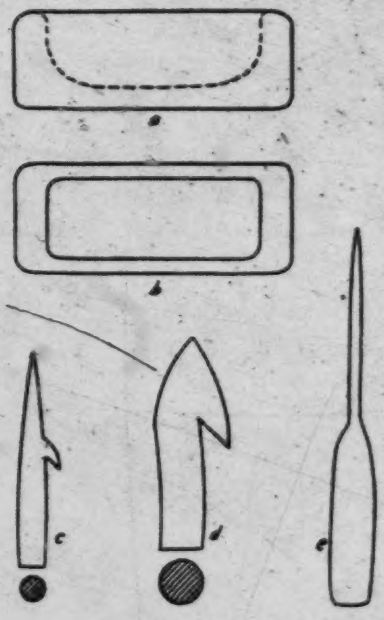

FIGURE 20.—*a*, *b*, Wooden mortar. *c*, Bone or iron point used for hunting chiguire. *d*, Hook used for manatee. *e*, Cooking paddle.

COOKING LADLES.—These are small wooden paddles used in cooking, especially when meat is boiling in a pot (fig. 20, *e*).

HAMMOCKS.—The Yaruros prefer to sleep on the sands, especially during the dry season. The men make hammocks, however, small ones generally used by children as cradles, and by the women shamans when they sing, during the day. During the rainy season they may employ them for sleeping.

The fiber employed to make the hammock string comes from the moriche leaf. The string may be very fine, of course, depending on the interest of the maker. It is made by the men. To weave the hammock a loom is made of two poles thrust into the sand to which are fastened two crosspieces at both the top and bottom. The string is then wound around these crosspieces. The weaver employs a knotter's netting technique. When the entire hammock has been woven the weaving is held in place by another string thrust through one of the woven rows.

ROPE.—The fiber mostly employed by the Yaruros is taken from the leaf of the moriche and the macanilla. The inner cortex of the leaf is stripped off and dried and then is taken apart strand by strand. These long fibers are then moistened and twisted together in two's and th..ee's into a string by rolling them on the thigh with the palm of the hand. A stronger string is made in the same way and used for making hammocks. The bow strings are made from the fiber of the macanilla.

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291 177 after I had been among the Yaruros for a time the women often discarded their camisoles, even though I were present.

291 286 462 The men would normally wear a breechclout which originally was woven by the women from the fibers of the moriche palm leaf, but now it consists of a piece of cloth. Formerly the women wove wide belts of the same fiber for the men, but this is no longer done. The breechclout is held in place by a string tied around the waist.

291 287 The women, underneath their camisoles, still wear the old-fashioned Yaruro girdle, which is made from the fibers of the moriche palm. The fibers, which are about 2 feet long, are fastened together at one end. This end is slipped through a hair rope tied around the waist, and the whole mass of fibers passes between their legs and under the waist string. Plate 25, 4,[1] shows a Yaruro woman wearing one of these girdles. It is fastened in such a way that an enormous knot is formed in the rear, and when wearing their camisole the women have the appearance of sporting large tails.

562 291 301 The women on the whole seem to be more conservative than the men in their clothing and body decorations. Below the knees and around the ankles they wear a thin string, and often they have necklaces of carved asabache figures, which are shown in plate 21.

DELOUSING TOOL

412 515 An implement that is in great vogue is the delousing tool shown in plate 20, 2. The serrated end is used as a comb to expose the lice, which are seized between the fingers and crushed between the teeth. The pointed end is employed to crush blisters raised on the body by

462 302 mosquito bites. These tools, also fashioned by the men, are used exclusively by the women to groom their menfolk and each other.

CARRYING NETS

482 286 854 Carrying nets, of the knotless variety, are woven and used to carry children and food. When carrying children the net is slung across the chest from one shoulder; when carrying food it is supported by the head.

COOKING

252 462 The culinary art among the Yaruro is poorly developed. Much of the fruit and the eggs are eaten raw. Fish is eaten half raw and the meat of the crocodiles and turtles is merely warmed over the fire. Sometimes the meat is boiled. In the afternoon the women who have gathered firewood are to be found in camp waiting patiently for the men. On the hot coals they will have eggs and changuango. If the hunt is successful, and no hunt is considered

1 [see category 116, and plate 15, - - - Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

successful if the men do not come back with a number of crocodiles, the men build larger fires, upon which the crocodiles are laid. As the hide cracks the animals are split open, the meat is stuck on spits and upon reaching a stage of being warm it is eaten. Contrary to popular ideas that crocodile eaters only consume the tail, the Yaruro eat the entire animal but stop short at the entrails, which are thrown to the dogs. However, they accuse the neighboring Guahibos of eating the entrails as a special delicacy. Turtle meat and eggs are often boiled.

Salt is known to these people but it is by no means considered an indispensable condiment in their food. In the only historical reference we have to the Yaruros they are referred to as clay eaters. Today, even though they are in occasional touch with civilized communities, the salty clay banks are still their only source of supply for salt. The food is generally eaten saltless, since they have no means of purchasing salt from the Racionales and they do not know how to make salt from the clay. As a result, they obtain the amount of salt necessary to life by chewing clay which they pick up in their wanderings over the plains. Food which I prepared with salt was always left untouched by them as being unsavory. In this respect, therefore, they act like the cattle and the deer which can be seen over the plains licking salt clay banks.

STORING OF FOOD

The only foods that can be kept for any length of time in the lowland tropics are the roots and seeds. In the rainy season even this is impossible. The Yaruros during the dry season leave caches of changuango on various sandbars. They dig pits into which they place the roots. The hole then is filled and soon the wind will leave no mark indicating that the sand has been disturbed. In some cases where the landmarks are plain, and the Yaruros expect to return in a day or two, no markers are placed anywhere. But if they expect to be delayed, or the sandbar is so large that they might forget the exact spot of the cache, they will thrust a stick into the ground at some distance away. Apparently by sighting with this stick and some other chosen point, they are able to locate the food store. However, on a number of occasions I saw the Yaruros march to a place on the sands with certitude and excavate changuango. In such cases I saw no markers.

In similar fashion they may store turtle eggs, provided they expect to return within a few hours. Baskets and other objects may also be left in the sand, to be retrieved when they are needed. Asabache, which is found in certain localities, may be gathered in quantities and stored until it is to be used.

182 241 361 First, through time, the gardens tend to radiate further and further from any given residence point since, given the 13-year planting-fallow cycle, plots near the village will be exhausted. Since the major garden resource areas lie in a crudely east-to-west direction, there will be a slow westward migration of the geographic center of garden activities, enough so that at some point, the village is suspended, as it were, among distant resource points (see Maps), and enhanced by the dispersed nature of the hunting and fishing, and to some extent the gathering, areas. If the "suspension" is weighted more in one direction than another, there will be some tendency either to move the village or to send out temporary or permanent branches of it, respectively in the form of work cottages in the swiddens or in larger long-term house groups which are intermittently occupied. This process is, in fact, easily observed among the Yaruro in existent and abandoned house and subsidiary village sites scattered over the whole territory. Similarly, the locus of gathering, so important in [221] summer, moves further and further from the village. This, together with the considerable shift to fishing and river-hunting in summer, as well as the need for water, causes an extensive seasonal transhumance to occur within the territory. These factors contribute to fissioning as well as to inhibiting the development of permanently located villages, let alone larger aggregations. Thus, with a radiating ecology, a degree of group dispersion and geographical mobility within the territory is to be expected and is indeed characteristic of the Yaruro.

512 Second, if one examines the location of all resources it will be seen that, taken together, they constantly enjoin a dispersal of the labor force in all directions, regardless of season, so that more or less equivalent quantities of labor are being used at the same time in many varying kinds of productive activity independently of each other — at the peripheries of the territory, in the areas between, or in the village centers themselves, [462] where the women are constantly doing the significantly important work of [252] converting otherwise unusable food resources, like raw, bitter manioc or uncooked corn, into edibles.

476 Third, it will be noted that none of the Yaruro technological processes require cooperative work, even when they may permit it, if it were so desired. On the whole, the productive activities might be described as dispersive of labor, whether it is individuals or small groups of twos or threes who go out to keep each other company. Even the work of preparing [241] the swiddens is carried out individually, though two or three men may [463] work as neighbors in what appears as a single plot. Further, the technology [242] is such as to require no highly specific and difficult or esoteric skills. The most difficult skill to acquire is the knowledge of the soil types and appropriate planting procedures attached to each. Thus, each adult is in a position to learn the inventory of technological knowledge appropriate 462 to his or her sex, and somewhat of that belonging to the other sex too, and 463 to apply it by himself whenever he wants or must. A man, well-instructed in Yaruro technology, could probably subsist alone successfully for long periods of time. One divorced adult man, although he was largely fed by his

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Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Food M	Prep F
COOKED DISHES AND THE DIVISION OF LABOR — CONVERSION OF FOODSTUFFS IN VILLAGE					
chum'pe	arepa	corn cakes	kernels crushed after shelling, fried in deep fat or boiled; grater often used	/	♂♂♂
ui'ta	?	corn purée	crushed corn (after frying raw kernels in deep fat, or simply boiling) mixed with water; grater may be used for mashing	/	♂♂♂
pwɛ-u'ni	?	corn powder	dry hard kernels grated on metal grater (men make holes with nails) and then eaten dry	/	♂♂♂
iu	?	corn on cob?	boiled		♂
po'nô	?	corn kernels	dry, relatively hard kernels are shelled from cob, then roasted in deep fat, salted, and eaten	♂	♂♂
cɨ'dɛ	capuruna	corn sticks	shelled kernels grated into mush, carefully wrapped in capuruna leaves, boiled; stored or eaten directly	/	♂♂♂
'pwɛ-e"ro	guarapo de maíz	corn juice	kernels are mashed to express juice, thick liquid	♂	♂♂
tambɛ	cazabe	bitter manioc	manioc flower prepared by cutting, grating, squeezing in tipiti, etc.		♂♂♂
1. tam'bɛ	cazabe	manioc cakes	flour prepared in flat cakes and roasted		♂♂♂
2. tam'bɛ-ɛ'ro	guarapo de cazabe	boiled m. juice	juice is boiled to break down prussic acid	/	♂♂
3. tam'bɛ ?	carato	fermented "	flour and juice added to corn juice, ferments ca. 12 hr.	♂♂	♂
'oka"raru-"ni	huevos	chicken eggs	usually fried		♂
'hurari"à-'pae	yuca dulce	sweet manioc			
1. ?	?	fried slices	fried in relatively shallow fat	/	♂♂
2. ?	?	deep fried	fried in deep fat		♂♂
3. ?	?	boiled	boiled whole after peeling (as above)		♂♂

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Food M	Food F	Prep M	Prep F
'pasuwa	plátanos, topochos, bananas	plantains and bananas	many types often eaten raw; below are considered only those which are cooked				
1. ?	?	boiled	peeled and put in water to boil till soft	/		½	
2. ?	?	fried slices	peeled, sliced, put in deep fat till hard			½+½	
o'bwela	marrano	pork	most of the work of killing and preparing is done, as with most meats, by the men; only boiling is usually done by women who own pots				
1. ?	?	boiled	small chunks boiled till almost mushy	/		½+½	
2. ?	?	roasted	put on sticks over fire, facing it	½+½			
3. ?	chicharrones	cracklings	hide with thick layer of fat fried in its own fat till fat (and hide) are hard; stored for some time	½+½			
4. ?	?	deep fried	meat parts are deep fried till almost crisp			½+½	
5. agwei ka"piaka"ro	?	blood sausages	blood carefully caught on slaughtering and saved in vessell till coagulated then stuffed into unwashed (?) intestines and cooked	½+½+½			
chwai"i-e'ro	guarapo de caña	cane juice	squeezed out on "chaqui-chaqui", a wooden hand press	½		/	

NB—Preparation of foods produced only in the dry summer months, such as changuango root and changuanito savanero root were not observed and are not included here. These roots are both boiled by the women. Most meats, unless boiled, are prepared by the men by roasting. Fish, in general are prepared by women. Most fruits and seeds which are not eaten directly upon collecting are cooked by women.

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/11 cont./
out of reach of the waters, having refused to shelter themselves on an elevated knoll as Iʂiai ordered them to do. The latter, to punish them, condemned them and all their family to become "monos and araguatos who will eat henceforth," he told them, "leaves, fruit, chiga (18), etc...."

18. Chigo grain (Campsiandra comosa), from which the Yaruro apparently extract flour.

The origin of the chigüíre is illustrated on its part by the text reproduced next:

1st version (literal translation)

"Once upon a time, when the Kuma still lived on earth, an old Otomaco pume (19). The Kuma had a little gourd

19. In Yaruro: man or Yaruro.

full of mosquitos (20) and plaga (21) and one day the Otomaco

20. Diurnal wounding gnats (Similium haemapotum Malloch), in Venezuelan.

21. Nocturnal mosquitoes, in Venezuelan.

asked her: "What is this, grandmother?" "No, son," she answered him, "do not try to uncork it because they are Iʂiai's sons. If you uncork it, /12/ the little beasts will eat you." The Otomaco, the old pume, was stubborn and in an inattentive moment of the Kuma uncorked the little receptacle near a river. In an instant he was covered with bites and threw himself into the water. Then Iʂiai said to him that for